

後期近代英語の ME/ɔ/ の音価について

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1. 序 論

筆者は、一連の脚韻研究により、⁽¹⁾ i) ME/ɔ/ が [o:] に前母音化された証拠となる ME/ɔ/ と ME/ɔu/ の脚韻は 16 世紀から見出され、16 世紀後半以降にはどの詩人にも一様に多く見出されている。ii) ME/ɔ/ と ME/ɔ/ の脚韻は 16 世紀から見出されるがその多くは ME/ɔ/ の ME/ɔ/ 異形か方言音 [u:] に基づくものである。iii) ME/ɔ/ と ME/ɔ/ の脚韻は 16 世紀から見出されるがその多くは ME/ɔ/ の ME/ɔ/ の異形か、ME/ɔ/ の ME/ɔ/ 異形に基づくものである。iv) ME/ɔ/ と ME/au/ (ME/ū/, ME/u/) の脚韻は極めて少なく両者の融合の確証とはならない。という事実に基づき初期近代英語の ME/ɔ/ の音価は [o:] であると指摘してきた。⁽²⁾ 後期近代英語の ME/ɔ/ の脚韻実状を調査し、ME/ɔ/ の発達過程を検討するのが本稿の目的である。

2. 本 論

次の表は 1800 年頃までの詩人に見出される自由位置における ME/ɔ/ を含む全脚韻の中で ME/ɔ/ : ME/ɔ/, ME/ɔ/ : ME/ɔu/, ME/ɔ/ : ME/ɔ/, ME/ɔ/ : ME/ɔ/, ME/ɔ/ : ME/u/, ME/ɔ/ : ME/ū/, ME/ɔ/ : ME/au/ 等の脚韻の占める相対頻度を示したものである。％は脚韻総数に対するものである。詩人はどうしてもうまく押韻できない場合には、自分の生まれ育った地域の方言を利用することも十分考えられるので、詩人の出身地、及び出身地と思われる所を備考欄に記しておく。？は出所不詳を示す。

表 1

	ME/ʒ/								備考
	ME/ʒ/	ME/ɔu/	ME/ɔ/	ME/ɔ/	ME/u/	ME/ɪ/	ME/au/	その他	出身地
A. Pope (1688-1744)	155 33.2%	179 38.3%	53 11.4%	59 12.6%	15 3.2%	4 0.9%	2 0.4%	0 0%	London
W. Broome (1689-1745)	39 33.4%	31 26.5%	26 22.2%	13 11.1%	0 0%	8 6.8%	0 0%	0 0%	Cheshire
J. Byrom (1691-1763)	165 44.3%	150 40.2%	5 1.3%	48 12.9%	2 0.5%	0 0%	1 0.3%	2 0.5%	Manchester
M. Green (1696-1737)	7 29.2%	11 45.8%	6 25.0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	?
C. Pitt (1699-1748)	31 24.0%	34 26.3%	32 24.8%	18 14.0%	11 8.5%	2 1.6%	1 0.8%	0 0%	Bradford
J. Thomson (1700-48)	45 34.0%	60 45.5%	19 14.4%	8 6.1%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	Scotland
J. Dyer (1700-58)	5 31.2%	7 43.7%	3 18.8%	0 0%	0 0%	1 6.3%	0 0%	0 0%	Carmarthenshire
G. West (1703-56)	35 24.3%	30 20.8%	38 26.4%	24 16.7%	4 2.8%	13 9.0%	0 0%	0 0%	?
R. Dodsley (1703-64)	25 40.3%	20 32.3%	13 21.0%	3 4.8%	0 0%	0 0%	1 1.6%	0 0%	Nottinghamshire
S. Jenyns (1703-87)	35 38.9%	36 40.0%	10 11.1%	5 5.6%	0 0%	1 1.1%	3 3.3%	0 0%	London
W. Hamilton (1704-54)	49 32.9%	58 38.9%	17 11.4%	22 14.8%	1 0.7%	2 1.3%	0 0%	0 0%	Airshire
D. Mallet (1705-65)	23 35.9%	32 50.0%	5 7.8%	3 4.7%	1 1.6%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	Perthshire
H. Brooke (1706-83)	170 50.9%	129 38.6%	12 3.6%	18 5.4%	4 1.2%	0 0%	1 0.3%	0 0%	Ireland
N. Cotton (1707-46)	36 40.0%	51 56.7%	1 1.1%	2 2.2%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	?
W. Harte (1709-74)	78 37.1%	85 40.5%	14 6.7%	21 10.0%	6 2.9%	3 1.4%	0 0%	3 1.4%	?
S. Boyse (1708-49)	61 25.4%	90 37.5%	38 15.8%	39 16.3%	7 2.9%	5 2.1%	0 0%	0 0%	Dublin
G. Lyttleton (1709-73)	15 18.7%	28 35.0%	26 32.5%	9 11.3%	0 0%	2 2.5%	0 0%	0 0%	Worcestershire
P. Whitehead ?	19 43.7%	19 43.7%	3 6.8%	0 0%	1 2.3%	2 4.5%	0 0%	0 0%	Hertfordshire
J. Armstrong (1709-79)	9 45.0%	7 35.0%	2 10.0%	1 5.0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	1 5.0%	Roxburghshire
E. Moore (1711-57)	29 37.2%	29 37.2%	15 19.2%	5 6.4%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	Berkshire
W. Thompson (1712-66)	26 32.5%	25 31.2%	15 18.8%	10 12.5%	0 0%	4 5.0%	0 0%	0 0%	Westmoreland

W. Shenstone (1714-63)	85 42.9%	71 35.9%	39 19.7%	2 1.0%	0 0%	1 0.5%	0 0%	0 0%	Shropshire
R. Jago (1715-81)	14 48.3%	10 34.5%	4 13.8%	1 3.4%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	Warwickshire
W. Whitehead (1715-85)	82 30.7%	93 34.8%	45 16.8%	25 9.4%	12 4.5%	8 3.0%	1 0.4%	1 0.4%	Cambridge
T. Gray (1716-71)	15 39.4%	10 26.3%	8 21.1%	2 5.3%	0 0%	3 7.9%	0 0%	0 0%	London
R. O. Cambridge (1717-1802)	60 44.8%	32 23.9%	24 17.9%	12 9.0%	1 0.7%	4 3.0%	0 0%	1 0.7%	London
J. Cawthorn (1719-61)	33 31.1%	48 45.3%	10 9.5%	10 9.5%	3 2.8%	1 0.9%	1 0.9%	0 0%	Yorkshire
W. Collins (1721-59)	24 47.0%	18 35.3%	5 9.8%	2 3.9%	1 2.0%	0 0%	1 2.0%	0 0%	Chichester
J. Grainger (1721-66)	0 0%	9 90%	0 0%	1 10%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	Scotland
M. Akenside (1721-70)	31 31.3%	44 44.4%	9 9.1%	9 9.1%	5 5.1%	1 1.0%	0 0%	0 0%	Newcastle
T. Smollett (1721-71)	11 36.6%	9 30.0%	3 10.0%	5 16.7%	2 6.7%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	Renton
W. Wilkie (1721-72)	115 42.6%	65 24.0%	45 16.7%	43 15.9%	1 0.4%	0 0%	0 0%	1 0.4%	Scotland
F. Fawkes (1721-77)	46 59.7%	12 15.6%	10 13.0%	6 7.8%	3 3.9%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	Yorkshire
T. Blacklock (1721-91)	30 24.0%	81 64.8%	8 6.4%	6 4.8%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	Scotland
C. Smart (1722-71)	66 45.8%	38 26.4%	23 16.0%	16 11.1%	1 0.7%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	Kent
J. Warton (1722-1800)	23 60.6%	6 15.8%	4 10.5%	3 7.9%	1 2.6%	0 0%	0 0%	1 2.6%	Dunsford
J. G. Cooper (1723-69)	39 39%	23 23%	26 26%	10 10%	1 1%	1 1%	0 0%	0 0%	Nottinghamshire
E. Lovibond (1724-75)	25 37.9%	23 34.8%	11 16.7%	5 7.6%	2 3.0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	Middlesex
W. Mason (1725-97)	36 38.3%	23 24.5%	21 22.3%	4 4.3%	3 3.2%	5 5.3%	2 2.1%	0 0%	Yorkshire
O. Goldsmith (1728-74)	30 41.6%	21 43.1%	6 8.3%	2 2.8%	1 1.4%	2 2.8%	0 0%	0 0%	Ireland
T. Warton (1728-90)	62 50.8%	40 32.8%	11 9.0%	8 6.6%	1 0.8%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	Yorkshire
J. Cunningham (1729-73)	26 31.0%	37 44.0%	18 21.4%	2 2.4%	1 1.2%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	Dublin
W. Falconer (1730-69)	45 33.6%	59 44.0%	16 11.9%	5 3.7%	8 6.0%	1 0.8%	0 0%	0 0%	Edinburgh
J. Scott (1730-83)	52 57.1%	35 38.5%	4 4.4%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	London
C. Churchill (1731-64)	184 45.6%	176 43.6%	22 5.4%	4 1.0%	11 2.7%	0 0%	6 1.5%	1 0.2%	Westminster

W. Cowper (1731-1800)	102 33.8%	117 38.9%	36 12.0%	29 9.6%	14 4.7%	1 0.3%	2 0.7%	0 0%	Hertfordshire
R. Lloyd (1733-64)	165 49.1%	135 40.1%	11 3.3%	12 3.6%	12 3.6%	0 0%	0 0%	1 0.3%	Westminster
W. J. Mickle (1734-88)	38 32.8%	37 31.9%	13 11.2%	16 13.8%	2 1.7%	7 60.0%	1 0.9%	2 1.7%	Scotland
J. Langhorne (1735-79)	61 44.2%	51 37.0%	20 14.5%	6 4.3%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	Cumbria
J. Beattie (1735-1803)	52 31.9%	43 26.3%	42 25.8%	11 6.8%	3 1.8%	12 7.4%	0 0%	0 0%	Scotland
S. W. Jones (1746-94)	60 51.7%	48 41.4%	4 3.4%	1 0.9%	2 1.7%	0 0%	1 0.9%	0 0%	Shropshire
J. Logan (1748-88)	22 36.1%	20 32.8%	15 24.6%	4 6.5%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	Scotland
T. Chatterton (1752-70)	62 62.6%	12 12.1%	13 13.1%	6 6.1%	6 6.1%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	Bristol
合計	7056 100%	2753 39.0%	2567 36.4%	878 12.5%	576 8.2%	150 2.1%	94 1.3%	24 0.3%	12 0.2%

2.1. ME/ɔ/ : ME/ɔu/

表 1 に示された ME/ɔ/ と ME/ɔu/ の脚韻は以下のものである。

Pope — ago : below, ago : blow, ago : know, alone : blown, alone : disown, alone : grown, alone : known (3 回), alone : moan : unknown, alone : none : shown, alone : one : shown, alone : own (6 回), alone : own : shown, alone : shown, alone : thrown (4 回), alone : unknown (3 回), atone : own (2 回), beau : glow, beau : know, beau : show, beaux : grows, beaux : rows, bemoan : own (2 回), compose : rose, foe : below, foe : bestow, foe : bow, foe : flow (2 回), foe : know (2 回), foe : low, foe : low : show, foe : overthrow, foe : show (2 回), foe : throw, Foe : below, foes : knows, foes : repose : owes, fro : blow, fro : low, go : below, go : bow, go : glow, go : know (3 回), go : low, go : Rowe, go : show, goal : soul, goal : whole (2 回), goes : owes, goes : throws, gone : own (2 回), gone : unknown, groan : own (4 回), groan : unknown, gorat : fought, groat : thought (3 回), jokes : folks, load : bestow'd, none : known (2 回), none : own, none : shown (2 回), none : unknown (2 回), nose : blows, nose : o'erflows, one : known (2 回), one : unknown, Po : flow, poet : know it, poet : show

it, postpone : own, propose : knows (2 回), prose : shows, repose : glows, repose : overthrows, repose : Rows, repose : throws, rose : blows, rose : grows, shoal : roll, shone : own (3 回), so : flow, so : grow, so : know (2 回), so : low, so : show, soho : row, stone : grown (2 回), stone : known, stone : overgrown, stone : overthrown, stone : own (4 回), stone : unknown (2 回), those : bestow, throne : known, throne : own (9 回), throne : unknown (3 回), Throne : blown, Throne : own (2 回), toe : low, woe : below, woe : bestow, woe : flow (4 回), woe : glow (2 回), woe : know (3 回), woe : o'erflow, woe : show (5 回), woes : knows, wrote : thought (2 回), zone : known, zone : own.

Broome — foe : bow, foe : show, foes : glows, foes : throws, go : show, go : snow, groan : unknown, lo : blow : flow, rose : glows, rose : grows, stone : own, stone : unknown, throne : own, woe : blow (2 回), woe : grow, woe : show (3 回), woe : slow, woes : flows (2 回), woes : glows (2 回), woes : grows, woes : o'erflow, woes : shows, woes : throws, wrote : thought (2 回).

Byrom — ago : bestow, ago : know (4 回), ago : slow, alone : foreshown, alone : known (9 回), alone : own (30 回), alone : shown (6 回), alone : thrown, alone : unknown, also : foreshow, Apollo : follow (2 回), atone : own (3 回), atone : unknown, beau : know, beau : show, beaus : knows, bilbo : elbow, Bone : known, both : growth (7 回), chose : knows, chose : shows, coal : poll, coal : soul, code : bestow'd, drone : own, foe : below, foe : grow, foe : know (2 回), foe : low, foe : show (2 回), foes : knows, forego : know, forego : show, go : below, go : know, goes : blows, goal : control, goes : crows, goes : knows, groat : fought, jokes : folks (2 回), Joe : know, load : bestow'd, moan : own, no : bestow, no : low, no : show, nonum : own'em, oaks : folks, one : own, oppose : shows, postpone : own, prone : own, propos : flow, propos : show, prose : bestows, prose : knows, repose : knows, sloth : growth, smoke : folk, so : crow, so : glow, so : know (5 回), so :

show (4 回), so : snow, stone : known, stone : own (2 回), suppose : blows, suppose : bestows, suppose : crows, suppose : flows, throne : known (5 回), throne : own (5 回), tone : own (2 回), woe : know, woe : owe.

Green —— forego : know, go : know, goes : flows, gone : sown, repose : blows, shone : unknown, so : show (2 回), stone : known, woe : glow, woe : slow.

Pitt —— alone : own (2 回), chose : flows, foe : below, foe : show, go : below, go : blow, go : know, goal : soul, groan : own, impose : grows, one : known, one : o'ergrown, rose : flows, rose : glows, rose : knows, stone : own (2 回), throne : own, toe : low, vote : bought, woe : below, woe : blow, woe : bow, woe : flow (8 回), woe : low, woe : owe.

Thomson —— alone : throne : tone : shown, arose : knows, arose : repose : grows, bemoan : groan : tone : grown, close : repose : o'erthrows : snows, foe : below : show : snow, fro : below : flow, fro : bestow : know : low, fro : low : show, fro : moe : snow, go : so : flow : low, go : woe : low : overthrow, go : woe : slow : throw, gone : flown, groan : own, groan : shown : thrown, hole : shoal : stole : bowl, moe : row : show, no : glow, repose : grows, repose : knows, rose : flows, so : woe : o'erthrow, stone : own, those : glows, woe : grow : know : show, woe : know (2 回), woes : throws.

Dyer —— go : bestow, go : glow, go : slow, interpose : grows, so : know, stone : grown.

West —— abode : flow'd : good : rod, alone : throne : known : Don, alone : throne : own, entron'd : own'd, foe : throw, foes : flows, go : below, go : glow : show : woo, go : know, goal : control, goal : roll, load : show'd, moan : grown : down, none : throne : own, repose : rose : flows : brows, repose : shows, shone : thrown : adown : Helicon, throne : own (2 回), woe : below, woe : bestow : throw : brow, woe : flow (2 回), woes : bestows.

Dodsley —— ago : below, alone : thrown, atone : own, Boileau : glow,

expose : knows, go : below, go : bow, go : flow : low, go : know, go :
 woe : known, rose : blow, so : grow, so : know, so : show, tone : own,
 woe : below, woe : flow, woes : o'erflows.

Jenyns — alone : own (4 回), ago : know, beau : snow, bemoan : own
 (2 回), crone : grown : own, dispose : bestow, foe : blow, foes :
 bestows, fro : snow, go : below (2 回), go : blow, go : know, goes :
 snows, gone : flown, gone : own, groan : own (2 回), groat : thought,
 moan : own, none : own, rose : grows, nose : knows, so : show, throne :
 own (3 回), woe : bestow, woe : grow, woe : o'erflow, woes : o'erflows.

Hamilton — alone : blown, alone : flown, alone : own, alone : un-
 known, Apollo : follow, beau : show (2 回), close : glows, dispose :
 rows, does : bestows, foe : blow (3 回), foe : glow, foe : show (2 回),
 foe : throw (3 回), go : below (2 回), go : know, goal : control, goes :
 snows, load : strow'd, none : unknown, prone : own, remote : thought,
 repose : bestows (2 回), repose : flows (2 回), repose : grows (2 回),
 Rhone : known, rose : blows, rose : glows, rose : throws, shone :
 knows, so : bow, those : glows, throne : own (3 回), trode : show'd,
 woe : below, woe : bestow, woe : blow (2 回), woe : flow (3 回), woe :
 know, woes : bestows (2 回), woes : glows, woes : knows, woes :
 o'erflows.

Mallet — ago : know, Apollo : follow, Apollo : hollow, alone : known
 (4 回), alone : own, arose : flows, beau : show, beaux : rows, foe :
 blow, foe : know, foes : knows, go : show, gone : own, groat : thought,
 jokes : folks, Joe : know, Kimbo : Bembow, none : own, nose : blows,
 poet : know it, poet : show it, rose : blows, shone : unknown, throne :
 unknown, unload : bestow'd, woe : below, woe : flow, woe : glow,
 wrote : thought.

Brooke — ago : flow (2 回), alone : known, alone : o'erthrown, alone :
 own (5 回), alone : unknown (4 回), beau : flow, beau : show, close :
 blows, close : flows, close : glows, close : knows, clothe : growth,
 compose : flows, disclose : glows, dispose : knows, enclose : flows :

grows, foe : below (3 回), foe : blow (5 回), foe : flow, foe : glow, foe : know (6 回), foe : low, foe : show, foe : slow, foe : throw, foes : glows (2 回), foes : grows (2 回), foes : knows, forego : flow (2 回), forego : know, froze : glows, go : below (2 回), go : know, go : low, go : show, go : woe : slow, goals : rolls, groan : o'erthrown, groan : own, load : flow'd, Lone : known, no : blow, poet : know it, prone : disown, prone : unknown, repose : bestows, repose : flows (3 回), repose : glows, repose : grows, repose : sows, Rhone : knows, road : bestow'd, road : flow'd, road : glow'd, rode : glow'd (2 回), rode : show'd, rode : stow'd (2 回), rose : blows, rose : flows (3 回), rose : glows (2 回), rose : grows (3 回), shone : throne : unknown, stone : flown, stone : grown, stone : known, stone : shown, those : flows, throne : known (2 回), throne : own (2 回), throne : unknown (2 回), woe : below (3 回), woe : bestow, woe : flow (5 回), woe : glow (3 回), woe : know, woe : low, woe : o'erflow (2 回), woe : show (2 回), woe : show, woes : knows, zone : known.

Cotton —— ago : know, alone : own (2 回), beau : low, beau : owe, foal : control, foe : below (2 回), foe : blow (4 回), foe : glow, foe : know (2 回), foe : show, foes : grows, forego : grows, go : blow, groan : own, poet : show it (2 回), sloe : glow, shone : own, so : below, so : know, stone : grown, stone : o'ergrown, throne : grown, throne : known (5 回), throne : own (10 回), throne : unknown, thrones : disown, woe : below (2 回), woe : bestow, woes : shows, woes : snows.

Harte —— alone : known (2 回), alone : own (4 回), alone : unknown, arose : throws, atone : own (2 回), bone : shown, close : knows, crone : known : shown, dispose : throws, foe : below, foe : blow (3 回), foe : blow : snow, foe : know (3 回), foe : low, foe : show, foe : slow, foes : oppose : shows, go : know, gone : flown, groan : own, groan : unknown, impose : owes, misceltoe : grow, moan : own, moan : unknown, none : shown, ode : show'd, one : shown, Po : flow, repose : blows (2 回), repose : flows, repose : owes, road : show'd, rose : blows,

rose : knows, rose : shows, shone : unknown, so : below, stone : own, thone : known, throne : own (6 回), tone : known, tone : own (2 回), woe : below, woe : below : flow, woe : bestow, woe : flow (10 回), woe : know (3 回), woe : show, woe : slow, woe : snow, woe : throw, woes : blows.

Boyse — alone : known, alone : own (5 回), alone : unknown, alone : unknown : town, compose : knows, disclose : glows, disclose : shows, dispose : flows, foe : blow, foe : flow (2 回), foe : glow, foe : grow (2 回), foe : know (2 回), foe : show, foe : throw, foes : shows, forego : flow (2 回), go : below, go : blow, go : know, go : woe : know, goes : flows, goes : grows, none : known, one : known, oppose : glows, oppose : owes, oppose : snows, Po : low, repose : flows (3 回), repose : glows (2 回), road : bestow'd, rose : glows, rose : knows, rose : shows, shone : known : own, shone : own, so : blow, stone : shown (3 回), throne : known (2 回), throne : known : own, throne : own (4 回), thrones : owns (2 回), woe : below (2 回), woe : below : flow, woe : bestow, woe : blow (3 回), woe : flow (5 回), woe : glow, woe : know (2 回), woe : show, woes : bestows, woes : flows (2 回), woes : glows, woes : knows, woes : shows, wrote : thought.

Lyttleton — alone : flown, alone : gone : own, alone : grown, alone : known (2 回), alone : own, compose : knows, foe : below, foe : know, go : below, repose : flows, repose : knows, rose : blows, stone : o'ergrown, woe : bestow (2 回), woe : bestow : low, woe : flow (3 回), woe : know (4 回), woe : owe, woes : knows.

Whitehead — Apollo : follow, dethrone : own, drones : owns, foe : blow (3 回), foe : flow, foe : know, foe : glow, foe : know, foe : show, load : throw'd, ode : bestow'd, rose : glows, rose : shows, stone : own, throne : own, woe : flow, woes : shows.

Armstrong — Apollo : follow, foe : low, gone : own, no : bestow, woe : bestow (2 回), woes : flows.

Moore — alone : shown, coal : whole, gone : flown, jokes : folks (2

回), no : below, no : bestow, no : grow, no : o'erthrow, no : show, one : known, prone : own, rose : bestows (2 回), rose : blows, rose : glows, rose : grows (2 回), rose : knows, shoals : souls, shone : grown, so : known (2 回), throne : disown, throne : known, throne : own, throne : unknown, thrones : disowns, woe : know.

Thompson — alone : known, alone : own, chose : rose : flows : rows, foe : below, foes : bestows, go : below, go : bow : glow : row, go : know, go : woe : o'erflow, gone : flown, poet : know it, repose : glows, rose : glows, stone : own, throne : own, woe : flow, woe : glow, woes : flows, woes : glows.

Shenstone — alone : disown (2 回), alone : flown (4 回), alone : known (2 回), alone : own (4 回), alone : unknown, atone : flown, atone : grown : own, bemoan : known, close : flows, close : glows, disclose : blows, disclose : flows (2 回), embryo : low : show, foe : bestow (2 回), foe : glow, foe : know, foe : show, foe : snow, forego : flow, go : flow, go : low, go : owe, goal : soul, moan : flown, moan : own, pose : shows, prone : own, prose : flows, repose : blows, repose : flows, repose : knows, rose : blows (2 回), rose : flows (3 回), rose : grows, shone : known, so : bestow, so : know, stole : bowl, stone : grown, stone : known, stone : own, throne : known, throne : own (3 回), tone : known, woe : below, woe : blow : flow, woe : flow, woe : flow : low : stow, woe : show, woes : knows, zone : own.

Jago — ago : flow, foe : show, repose : bestows, repose : blows, road : blow'd, road : flow'd, rose : glows, throne : own (2 回), woe : grow.

Whitehead — alone : grown, alone : own (5 回), alone : shown (2 回), alone : unknown, atone : own, atone : unknown, arose : flows, beaux : rows, coat : thought, dethron'd : disown'd, doat : thought, expose : rows, foe : blow (7 回), foe : glow, foe : know, foes : flows, foes : knows, forego : bestow, forego : know, go : below, go : bestow, goal : pole, goal : roll, goal : soul (2 回), goal : whole, goes : knows, gone : own (2 回), gone : unknown, groan : known (2 回), groan : own (3

回), groan'd : own'd, jokes : folks (2 回), load : flow'd, no : show, oppose : knows, Po : snow, poet : show it, prose : flows, repose : blows, repose : knows, rose : blows, rose : glows, rose : shows, so : know (2 回), soho : show, stone : own, stone : sown, throne : known (2 回), throne : own (6 回), woe : blow (2 回), woe : flow (4 回), woe : know (3 回), woes : blows, woes : grows, woes : knows (3 回), wrote : thought, zone : own, zone : unknown.

Gray — go : slow : brow, goes : blows, gone : flown, groan : own, poet : know it, poet : show it, repose : glows, woe : below, woe : flow, woe : know.

Cambridge — ago : know, ago : show, alone : known, arose : glows, bone : grown, bone : known, bone : strowne : wonne, disclose : knows, disclose : shows, Fo : know, foe : blow, foe : owe, foes : owes, go : bow, go : know, go : snow, goal : soul (2 回), goes : shows, going : knowing, gone : shown (2 回), Juno : know, load : bestow'd, moan : own, ode : bestow'd, oppose : flows, poet : know it, poet : show it, shone : known, so : overthrow, soal : poll, stone : known (2 回), stone : own (3 回), stone : thrown (2 回), throat : bought, throne : shown, tone : own, woe : flow, woe : know, woe : row : trow, woe : show, woe : snow, woes : glows, woes : knows.

Cawthorn — Bardeaux : shows, foe : know (2 回), foe : show, go : below, go : snow, goal : soul, jole : Knowl, Juno : flow, Monro : bestow, nose : throws, Po : blow, Po : glow, repose : knrws, repose : throws, rose : glows, shone : own (3 回), Soho : slow, stole : soul, stone : disown, throne : own (5 回), thrones : owns, woe : below (2 回), woe : blow, woe : flow (6 回), woe : glow (3 回), woe : know (2 回), woe : slow, woe : throw (3 回), woes : grows, zone : sown.

Collins — Abode : bestow'd : ow'd, alone : known (3 回), alone : own, alone : unknown, chose : grows, chose : throws (2 回), foregoes : knows, Throne : own, Throne : own : shown, Tone : known, woe : know, woe : o'erflow, woe : slow.

Grainger — alone : flown, go : flow, go : glow, go : woe, note : thought,
woe : bestow, woe : flow, woe : know, zone : know.

Akenside — alone : disown, alone : known : own, alone : own (4 回),
close : snows, enclose : knows, foe : know (2 回), foe : low, foe : show,
foe : throw, foes : knows, goal : roll (3 回), gone : known, gone : own,
groan : own (2 回), repose : knows, road : bestow'd (2 回), rose :
knows (2 回), throne : grown, throne : known (2 回), throne : own
(6 回), throne : shown, tone : o'ergrown, woe : flow (3 回), woe :
know, woe : slow, woes : knows.

Smollett — beau : crow, foe : below, foe : blow, foe : flow, throne :
own, woe : blow, woe : flow (2 回), woe : show.

Wilkie — alone : known (2 回), alone : unknown, arose : blows (2
回), atones : groans, close : blows (2 回), compose : flows, compose :
grows, foe : blow (2 回), foe : flow, foe : glow (2 回), foe : know (7
回), foe : show (4 回), foe : show, foe : throw, foes : glows (3 回),
foes : knows, forego : bow, gone : own (2 回), lose : shows, none : own
(3 回), prose : flows, prose : grows, prose : knows, rose : blows, so :
glow (2 回), so : show, stone : thrown, woe : below, woe : bestow,
woe : blow, woe : bow, woe : flow (5 回), woe : known (6 回), woes :
flows, woes : knows, zone : known.

Fawkes — discompose : flows, foe : blow, foe : stow, go : below, go :
flow (2 回), groan : own, moan : own, stone : own, woe : below, woe :
bestow, woe : know.

Blacklock — alone : known (5 回), alone : one : known, alone : own
(2 回), alone : thrown, beau : know (2 回), beaux : throws, disclose :
flows, doe : foe : below, foe : know, go : know, go : show, go : woe :
flow, goal : roll, goal : soul, goes : glows, gone : blown, gone : flown,
groan : own, groan : thrown, none : unknown, prose : flows, repose :
flows, repose : owes, rose : flows, rose : woes : knows, shone : known :
own, shone : own, so : below (2 回), stone : known, stone : own,
throne : own (2 回), woe : below (4 回), woe : below : flow, woe :

bestow (3 回), woe : blow (2 回), woe : flow (11 回), woe : glow (5 回), woe : know (4 回), woe : show, woe : slow, woes : flows (2 回), woes : flows : glows.

Smart — ago : known, alone : moan : unknown, drone : known, foe : below, foe : bestow, foe : blow, foe : know, foe : show, go : know, go : low, goal : pole, groan : own (2 回), misletoe : grow, moan : o'ergrown, moan : own, mode : bestow'd, mode : glow'd, none : own, repose : rose : grow, rose : flows, so : grow, so : know, throne : flown, throne : known, throne : own, undergo : know, woe : bestow, woe : blow, woe : flow (4 回), woe : glow, woes : flows, zone : known.

Warton — alone : own, forego : below, rose : glows (2 回), rose : knows, woe : slow.

Cooper — abode : bestow'd, abode : bestow'd : flow'd, alone : unknown, Apollo : follow, goes : flows, one : own, oppose : flows, rode : flow'd, so : below, so : flow, thrown : own, woe : below, woe : flow (2 回), woe : glow, woe : grow, woe : grow : flow, woe : know (2 回), woe : slow, zone : own.

Lovibond — alone : own (2 回), close : bestows, disclose : bestows, foe : blow, foes : mows, goal : control, gone : flown, groan : o'erthrown, groan : own (4 回), one : own, prose : throws, repose : throws, rose : blows, rose : knows, throne : own (2 回), woe : flow, woe : glow, woe : low.

Mason — alone : own, alone : shown, dispose : glows, embryo : know, foe : bestow, foe : flow, nose : knows, poet : know it, prose : knows, repose : blows, repose : knows, stone : e'ergrown, throne : disown, throne : know (2 回), throne : own, woe : flow (4 回), woe : know, woe : slow, woes : flows.

Goldsmith — alone : flown, alone : own (2 回), alone : unknown (2 回), forego : below, go : row, go : slow, jokes : folks, none : own, nose : shows (2 回), nose : snows, Po : slow, poet : know it, repose : bestow (3 回), sloth : growth, so : flow, so : show, throne : grown, throne :

own (2 回), woe : below (2 回), woe : flow, woe : glow (2 回), woe : grow, woe : know, zone : own.

Warton — alone : own (4 回), alone : unknown, Bello : mellow, enclose : grows, enclose : rows, foe : blow (3 回), foe : flow, go : show, go : woe : know, goal : stole, groan : shown : flown, nose : flows, ode : bestow'd, prone : own, repose : lows, repose : rows, repose : throws, road : flow'd, road : glow'd, rose : glows, shone : flown, stone : thrown, throne : known, throne : own (5 回), toes : glows, tones : owns, woe : blow, woe : flow.

Cunningham — alone : unknown, Apollo : follow, bemoan : own, dethrone : disown, drone : disown, enclose : bestows, foe : bow, foe : low, foe : grow, foes : glows (2 回), forego : know, go : grow, go : know, go : slow, goal : pole (2 回), goal : roll, load : stow'd, ode : bestow'd, rose : bestows : glows, rose : blows (3 回), rose : glows (3 回), stone : unknown, throne : flown, throne : own, throne : unknown, woe : below, woe : flow (2 回), woe : know, zone : known.

Falconer — abode : bestow'd, alone : o'ergrown, alone : own, alone : unknown (2 回), bemoan : own, bemoan : unknown, foe : blow (4 回), foe : flow (2 回), foe : glow (3 回), foe : know, forego : below, goal : control, goal : pole, groan : thrown, groan : unknown (2 回), oppose : grows, oppose : knows, prone : thrown, repose : flows, road : glow'd, shone : known, stone : unknown, throes : glows, throne : known (2 回), throne : own, woe : below, woe : bestow (2 回), woe : blow (2 回), woe : flow (4 回), woe : glow, woe : grow (2 回), woe : know (2 回), woe : overflow (2 回), zone : known (9 回).

Scott — alone : flown, alone : thrown, alone : unknown (2 回), atone : own, bemoan : flown, bemoan : overgrown, chose : flows, enclose : shows (2 回), expose : shows, foe : blow, foe : know, foes : owes, groan : thrown, prone : flown, repose : blows, road : bestow'd, rose : blows, rose : flows, rose : shows, sloes : shows, woe : below (4 回), woe : bestow, woe : flow (2 回), woe : know (2 回), woe : owe, woes :

bestows, woes : knows, zone : own.

Churchill — ago : blow, ago : flow, ago : know, ago : Row, alone : disown, alone : grown (2 回), alone : known (3 回), alone : outgrown, alone : own (7 回), alone : shown, alone : unknown, arose : rows, beau : know, beau : show (2 回), beaux : grows, both : growth (5 回), close : flows, clothes : grows, clothes : knows (2 回), compose : knows, Coan : grown, dethron'd : own'd, doe : grow, drone : known, expose : crows, expose : grows, foe : below, foe : blow, foe : flow (2 回), foe : know (6 回), foe : low, foe : show, foes : flows (2 回), foes : owes, forego : flow, forego : owe, froze : glows, go : below, go : blow, go : flow, go : know (5 回), go : show (6 回), go : slow (2 回), go : snow, go : Stow, goal : soul, goes : knows, goes : Rows, groan : known, groan : own (5 回), groan : unknown, groat : bought, loan : own, no : below, no : flow, no : show, none : grown, nose : grows oh : flow, poet : know it, poet : show it, pose : flows, pose : glows, prose : flows, quomodo : know, repose : flows, repose : knows, rose : flows, shove : own, so : below, so : low, so : know, stone : grown, stone : own, stone : unknown, suppose : flows, throne : grown (6 回), throne : known (5 回), throne : own (22 回), throne : unknown (5 回), those : blows (2 回), those : glows, tone : known, tone : own, woe : below, woe : flow (6 回), woe : know (3 回), woe : low (2 回), woe : o'erflow, woe : owe, woe : show.

Cooper — ago : below, ago : show (2 回), alone : known (3 回), alone : own (17 回), alone : unknown (2 回), arose : knows, beau : show (2 回), bone : own, both : growth (3 回), chose : show, close : bestows (2 回), close : knows, close : owes, discompose : blows, foe : below, foe : blow, foe : glow, foe : show, forego : below (2 回), forego : blow, forego : low, fro : blow, go : glow, go : know, go : show (2 回), goal : control, goal : roll, goes : bestows, gone : unknown, groan : own (6 回), hallo : follow, impose : grows, joke : folk, load : bestow'd, no : flow, no : low, no : throw, none : shown, nose : shows (3 回), one :

known, oppose : shows, repose : blows, repose : knows, road : bestow'd (2 回), rose : grows, rose : shows (2 回), rose : snows, smoke : folk, so : below, so : low, so : show, so : slow, stone : own, stone : unknown, suppose : flows, suppose : shows, throne : own (7 回), throne : unknown, those : bestows, toe : throw, tone : own (5 回), tornadoes : meadows, woe : below (4 回), woe : bestow, woe : know (2 回), woe : show, woe : slow, woes : bestows, woes : flows, zone : own.

LLoyd — ago : know, alone : grown, alone : known (2 回), alone : own (9 回), alone : shown (2 回), alone : unknown (2 回), Apollo : follow, Apollo's : follows (2 回), beaux : shows, bone : grown, clothes : flows, clothes : knows, Co : grow, Co : show, disclose : shows, drone : known, foe : bestow, foe : blow, foe : glow, foe : grow, foe : show (2 回), foe : throw, foes : blows, foes : grows (2 回), foes : shows, go : flow, go : know (3 回), go : know : low, go : low (2 回), go : show (2 回), go : show, go : snow, goal : pole, goal : soul, goes : shows (3 回), groan : own : shown, jokes : folks (2 回), no : blow, no : flow (2 回), no : show (2 回), nose : blows (2 回), nose : flows, nose : grows, oppose : shows, poem : know him, poet : know it, prose : flows (7 回), prose : glows, prose : grows (2 回), prose : knows (2 回), prose : shows, road : flow'd, rose : blows (2 回), rose : flows, rose : grows, rose : throws, so : below, so : know, throne : flown, throne : known (4 回), throne : own (9 回), throne : unknown (2 回), toe : show, tone : grown, tone : known, tone : own, tone : shown (2 回), outgoes : knows, woe : bestow, woe : blow, woe : flow (4 回), woe : flow : know, woe : know (2 回), woe : show, woe : slow (2 回), woes : bestows, woes : flows, woes : knows (3 回).

Mickle — agony : known, alone : o'ergrown, arose : flows, chose : blows, disclose : rose : bestows, foe : below, foe : blow (2 回), foe : low, foe : glow, foes : throws, forego : show, mistetoe : flow, moe : bestow, note : thought, repose : bestows, repose : throws, rose : bestow, rose :

blows (2回), rose : glow, so : know, stone : grown, throne : grown, throne : own, tone : unknown, woe : below, woe : bow, woe : flow (2回), woe : know, woe : low : bough, woe : o'erflow, woe : show, woe : slow, woe : snow.

Langhorne — ago : know, alone : known (2回), alone : unknown, beau : know, disclose : blows (2回), foe : bestow, foe : slow, go : known, go : snow (3回), groan : unknown, mistletoe : know, oppose : snows, prone : own, repose : flows, repose : throws, rose : flows (2回), rose : snows, smote : thought, stone : o'ergrown, stone : shown, throne : known, throne : own, throne : unknown (2回), woe : below, woe : bow, woe : flow (5回), woe : flow : grow, woe : know (8回), woe : show, woe : slow, woes : flows, wrote : thought, zone : unknown.

Beattie — abode : glow'd, alone : own : done, alone : unknown : frown, beau : show, disclose : blow, disclose : grows, expose : o'erflows, foe : below, foe : blow, foes : flows, foes : grows, forego : glow, forego : woe : know, go : glow, go : lo : flow, go : woe : know (2回), repose : bestows, repose : blows (2回), repose : grows, rose : snows, so : flow, woe : below (4回), woe : bestow (4回), woe : blow (2回), woe : crow, woe : flow, woe : glow, woe : grow, woe : o'erflow : know, woe : snow, woes : throws.

Jones — abode : flow'd, abode : glow'd, ago : show, alone : own, alone : shown, alone : unknown (3回), arose : flows (2回), arose : grows, compose : shows, foe : blow, foe : blow : grow, foe : bow, foe : slow, go : slow (2回), moan : grown, mode : glow'd, Po : flow, prose : knows, repose : throws (2回), road : strow'd, rose : blows (2回), rose : knows : shows, rose : snows, stone : own, stone : unknown, throne : o'ergrown, throne : own (5回), throne : unknown, thron'd : own'd, woe : bestow, woe : flow, woe : know, woes : bestows (2回), woes : flows, woes : throws.

Logan — alone : own, disclose : blows, disclose : glows, foe : low, go : flow, go : glow, gone : own, repose : knows, rose : blows : disclose,

rose : flows (2回), throne : known (2回), woe : flow (3回), woe : glow, woe : o'erflow, woe : show.

Chatterton — alone : unknown, atone : own, froze : glows, go : below, go : know, go : show, goes : bows, no : sow, nose : shows, rose : glows, throne : unknown, woe : o'erflow.

16世紀の正音学者は ME/ɔ/ に対し [o:] の明確な証拠を提出しておらず、正音学者が ME/ɔ/ に対し明確に [o:] の証拠を提出するようになるのは17世紀以降である。一方、脚韻の証拠は ME/ɔ/ の [ɔ:] > [o:] への前母音化はもう少し早い時期に起った事を示している。ME/ɔ/ と ME/ou/ が韻を踏んでいるという事は両者の強勢ある音節の母音以下の発音が同じである事を示し、ME/ou/ の音価が判明している場合にはそれと対をなしている ME/ɔ/ の音価も一応分かるという事になる。ME/ɔ/ と ME/ou/ の脚韻が両者の融合の確証となる程度に多く見出されている場合には、ME/ou/ の単母音化の結果音が [ɔ:] であるか [o:] であるかにより ME/ɔ/ の音価が限定されてくる。筆者は ME/ou/ の単母音化は先ず第一段階で第二要素が第一要素を [ɔ] から [o] へと舌の位置を上げ、第二段階で第二要素が第一要素に同化したため [o:] で生じたと考えている。従って、筆者の見解では ME/ɔ/ と ME/ou/ の脚韻は ME/ɔ/ が [ɔ:] ではなく [o:] の証拠となる。この ME/ɔ/ と ME/ou/ の脚韻は既に16世紀から見出され、16世紀後半にはどの詩人にも一様に多く見出されている。筆者の調査によれば、初期近代英語の ME/ɔ/ と ME/ou/ の押韻率は一次資料、二次資料とも26%台であったのに比べ、後期近代英語の ME/ɔ/ と ME/ou/ の押韻率は更に高く36.4%となっている。⁽³⁾ ME/ɔ/ が [o:] から [ou] へ二重母音化されたのは1800年頃であるため、1700年頃の ME/ɔ/ の音価は [o:] であったと考えて先ず間違いはないだろう。⁽⁴⁾ abroad, broad, groat は ME/ɔ/ を持っていたため現代英語では [ɔ:] > [o:] > [ou] が期待される語であるが初期近代英語以降 [ɔ:] のまま今日に至っている。abroad の [ɔ:] と1700年頃の ME/ɔ/ = [o:] とでは押韻しないはずであるが実際には abroad と ME/ɔ/ を持つ語との脚韻は下記の詩人に下記の数だけ見出されている。

Pope (3), Byrom (1), Thomson (1), Jenyns (1), Hamilton (1), Mallet (2), Armstrong (1), Akenside (1), Cooper (1), Scott (1), Churchill (1),

Cowper (3), Beattie (2), Logan (1).

abroad の ME/ʊ/ が [o:] にまで前母音化された方言では abroad と ME/ʊ/ を持つ語の脚韻は [o:] に基づく完全韻となる。現代英語では、ME/ʊ/ を持つ語は bought, fought, thought 等と押韻しないが、後期近代英語では ME/ʊ/ を持つ語と thought 等の脚韻は実際には下記の詩人に下記の数だけ見出されている。

Pope (6), Broome (2), Byrom (1), Pitt (1), Jenyns (1), Hamilton (1), Mallet (2), Boyse (1), Whitehead (3), Cambridge (1), Grainger (1), Churchill (1), Mickle (1), Langhorne (2).

thought の現代音 [ɔ:] は、ME/ɔu/ の正常な発達過程によるのではなく、初期近代英語から並存していた俗語・方言形に由来する ME/au/ 異形によるものである。後期近代英語の note:thought 等の脚韻は ME/ʊ/ の [o:] と正常な ME/ɔu/ の [o:] に基づく完全韻である。

2.2. ME/ʊ/ : ME/ō/

Pope — bespoke : look, [○]both : *doth, broke : strook, chose : *lose, domes : tombs, foam : tomb, [○]grove : above (2 回), [○]grove : love (9 回), [○]grove : remove, [○]groves : loves (4 回), [○]groves : removes, home : come (2 回), home : come (2 回), home : foredoom, home : overcome (2 回), Jove : above (4 回), Jove : love (2 回), Jove : move, Jove : prove (2 回), [○]one : done, [○]one : undone (5 回), [△]Rome : foredoom, [△]Rome : doom (2 回), [△]Rome : Broome, spoke : look (3 回), [○]strove : above, [○]strove : love, [○]throne : done.

Broome — [○]abodes : floods : woods, [○]drove : love, foams : comes, groan : undone, [○]grove : love, [○]groves : loves (2 回), [○]groves : moves (5 回), Jove : above (3 回), Jove : love, oak : took, [○]one : undone, roads : floods, romes : comes, roves : moves, shove : move, spoke : shook, [○]stroke : shook.

Byrom — Cato : too, foes : *lose, goes : *lose, [△]Rome : come, [△]Rome : doom.

Green — home : come, [○]grove : love (2 回), [○]one : done, [△]Rome :

womb, [○]strove : love.

Pitt — [○]abodes : floods, dome : come, [○]drove : love, gone : love, gone : undone, home : come (3 回), home : room, Jove : above (8 回), Jove : move, Jove : prove (2 回), road : flood, roam : come, rove : improve, rove : love, [△]Rome : doom, shone : Moon, stove : love (2 回), [○]throne : Moon (3 回), [⊙]toe : shoe.

Thomson — alone : shone : done, alone : [○]throne : done, dome : come, [○]drove : grove : emove : love, [○]grove : love (2 回), [○]grove : Jove : emove : love, [○]groves : loves, [△]Rome : bloom : gloom : tomb.

Dyer — [○]grove : love (2 回), home : come.

West — [○]abode : blood, [○]abode : good : flow'd : rod, broke : took (2 回), dome : come, [○]drove : love, [○]drove : move, fone : [○]none : soon, [⊙]go : glow : show : [□]woo, [○]grove : Jove : wove : love, [○]grove : rove : prove, home : bloom, Jove : above (6 回), Jove : approve, Jove : love (4 回), Jove : [△]move (2 回), Jove : prove, Jove : remove, road : good, rove : above : Love : prove, rove : love : prove, rove : [△]move, shone : Moon.

Dodsley — [○]both : sooth, clothes : shoes, gone : done (2 回), [○]grove : love (3 回), hope : droop, Jove : prove, [○]one : done, [○]one : undone, roving : loving, spoke : look.

Jenyns — [○]grove : love (6 回), rome : come, [△]Rome : doom, rove : love, rove : remove.

Hamilton — close : shoes, [○]grove : love (3 回), [○]grove : [△]move (3 回), [○]groves : Loves, home : come, Jove : above (2 回), Jove : approve, Jove : love (2 回), [△]Rome : become, [△]Rome : doom, [△]Rome : o'ercome.

Mallet — [○]grove : love (2 回), [○]groves : approves, Jove : above, strove : love.

Brook — also : fro : [□]two, also : [⊙]go : [┐]two, also : ygo : [□]atwo, mo : so : [□]atwo, [△]Rome : doom, [△]Rome : tomb, [□]woe : evermoe : [┐]two.

Cotton — [○]groves : loves.

Harte — \circ drove : above, \circ grove : love (2 回), home : come, Jove : above, Jove : love (2 回), \triangle Rome : become, \triangle Rome : doom, rove : love (2 回), shone : done, \circ strove : love, tone : done.

Boyse — alone : undone (2 回), gone : undone (4 回), \circ grove : approve, \circ grove : love (7 回), \circ grove : love : prove, \circ groves : approves, \circ groves : loves (4 回), home : come (2 回), Jove : above (2 回), load : blood, \circ one : done, \circ one : undone, \triangle Rome : bloom, \triangle Rome : doom, rove : Love (3 回), \circ stroke : look, \circ strove : love (2 回), suppose : *lose, throne : undone.

Lytteton — \circ grove : love (6 回), \circ grove : move, home : come, Jove : love, Jove : \triangle move, \circ none : undone, \triangle Rome : bloom, \triangle Rome : doom (2 回), rove : improve, rove : love (5 回), spoke : look, \circ strove : love (5 回).

Whitehead — \circ grove : love, \triangle Rome : doom (2 回).

Armstrong — dome : room, home : room.

Moore — bespoke : look (2 回), bespoke : o'ertook, \circ grove : love (4 回), home : bloom, home : come (2 回), \circ one : done, rove : love (2 回), spoke : look, \circ strove : love.

Thompson — alone : noon, bone : Moon, \circ droves : loves, \circ grove : love (2 回), \circ grove : love : \triangle move, \circ grove : rove : love, \circ groves : loves (2 回), Jove : above, road : flood : god, road : good, \square woe : too.

Shenstone — \circ grove : love (21 回), \circ groves : approves, \circ groves : loves (3 回), *lose : choose, *lose : ooze, rove : love (6 回), roves : lives (2 回), \circ strove : love (4 回).

Jago — \circ grove : love (2 回), \circ groves : lives.

Whitehead — alone : done, \circ grove : appove : love, \circ grove : love (4 回), \circ grove : move (2 回), \circ grove : prove, \circ grove : remove, \circ groves : loves, \circ groves : proves, home : become, home : come (3 回), home : doom : loom, Jove : above (2 回), Jove : love (4 回), Jove : \triangle move (2 回), Jove : prove, load : good, \circ one : done (2 回), over : lover, road : mood, roam : come, rode : flood, rove : above (2 回), rov'd : lov'd,

△Rome : bloom (2回), △Rome : come (2回), △Rome : o'ercome,
 □woe : too, wove : love.

Gray — home : come, ○groves : loves, Jove : disprove, roam : gloom,
 △Rome : come : tomb, rove : love, roves : loves.

Cambridge — broke : shook (3回), Coke : book, ◎go : two, ○grove :
 △move (2回), ○groves : loves, home : come (2回), Jove : prove,
 Jove : remove, △Rome : come, rove : above, rove : love (2回), roves :
 loves, spoke : shook (2回), spoke : took, ○strove : love, wove : love
 (2回), wove : △move.

Cawthorn — Coke : look, ○grove : love (2回), ○groves : doves, Jove :
 love, Jove : prove (2回), ○one : undone (2回), so : *do.

Collins — ○Grove : Love (4回), ○Groves : Loves.

Akenside — ○grove : above, ○grove : love (2回), ○grove : love :
 move, ○grove : reprove, home : come, oak : brook, roam : tomb.

Smollett — ○grove : love (2回), rove : love.

Wilkie — atone : done (2回), broke : shook, dome : come (2回),
 ○drove : above (7回), ○grove : above (2回), ○grove : love, ○grove :
 move (5回), ○grove : remove, home : come, Jove : above (11回),
 Jove : approve, Jove : love, Jove : △move, Jove : prove, △Rome : bloom,
 spoke : look, ○strove : love (2回), ○strove : move (3回), wove :
 above.

Fawkes — ○grove : love (2回), home : come, Jove : love : prove,
 Jove : △move (2回), △Rome : tomb, rove : above, ○strove : move.

Blacklock — ○grove : love (2回), home : tomb (3回), rove : love (2
 回), rove : prove.

Smart — ○grove : love (7回), home : come, home : room, Jove :
 above, Jove : love (4回), Jove : love : △move, Jove : △move, Jove :
 prove, △Rome : doom, △Rome : gloom, rove : love, ○strove : love (2
 回).

Warton — ○grove : love, ○groves : loses, △Rome : doom, △Rome :
 tomb.

Cooper — \circ abode : good, \odot go : woe : *do, \circ grove : dove, \circ grove : love (3 回), \circ groves : doves, home : become (2 回), Jove : above, \circ one : done, road : good, roam : come, \triangle Rome : come, rove : above, rove : love (5 回), rov'd : belov'd, roves : Loves, so : *do, \circ strove : Love, tone : done.

Lovibond — \circ grove : Love (4 回), \circ groves : Loves, Jove : love, \triangle Rome : tomb, rove : love (2 回), rovers : lovers, wove : love.

Mason — alone : done, alone : Moon, arose : *lose, foes : *lose, \circ grove : above, \circ grove : love (6 回), \circ grove : \triangle move, repose : *lose, \triangle Rome : come, \triangle Rome : doom, rove : love (2 回), shone : outdone, spoke : look, stone : moon, wove : love.

Goldsmith — \circ grove : love (3 回), load : stood, rove : love, \circ strove : love.

Warton — \circ drove : love : move, \circ grove : love (2 回), \circ one : done, oak : brook, road : blood, \triangle Rome : doom, rove : prove, \circ strove : love, wove : prove.

Cunningham — alcove : Love (2 回), \circ grove : above (2 回), \circ grove : love (9 回), \circ grove : \circ strove : love, Jove : love, Jove : prove, rove : love.

Falconer — gone : soon, \circ grove : love (6 回), home : gloom, Jove : above (2 回), roam : come, rove : prove, shone : noon, \circ strove : love (3 回).

Scott — home : come, \circ grove : Love, \circ groves : loves, \circ groves : removes.

Churchill — Bolingbroke : brook, Jove : love, \circ none : done, \circ none : undone (2 回), \circ one : done (7 回), \circ one : undone (4 回), \triangle Rome : bloom, \triangle Rome : tomb (3 回), rove : above, \circ strove : love.

Cowper — \circ abode : good, alcove : move, \odot goes : *does, gone : undone, \circ grove : love (2 回), home : come (16 回), home : groom, Jove : \triangle move, omen : women, \circ one : done (3 回), road : good, roam : come, \triangle Rome : come, \triangle Rome : doom, \triangle Rome : o'ercome, \triangle Rome : tomb,

rov'd : lov'd, stone : done.

LLoyd — broke : choke : look, clothes : *does, [○]grove : love (2回),
[○]grove : remove, Jove : love, Jove : move, [○]one : done, [△]Rome : come,
 rove : love.

Mickle — alone : boon, [○]grove : love (5回), [○]grove : remove,
[○]groves : loves, [○]one : foredone : shun, roam : come (2回), [△]Rome :
 bloom, rov'd : belov'd.

Langhorne — [○]grove : love (8回), [○]grove : move, [○]groves : loves (3
 回), [○]groves : moves, [○]groves : roves, [△]Rome : gloom, rove : love,
 rove : move, [○]strove : love, wove : love (2回).

Beattie — [○]abode : flood, [○]abode : wood, alone : done : own, bemoan :
 stone : undone, broke : hook, dome : gloom, dome : tomb (2回), foes :
 *lose, [○]grove : above (2回), [○]grove : above : love, [○]grove : love (4
 回), [○]grove : Love : prove, [○]grove : move, [○]grove : prove (2回),
[○]grove : remove, [○]groves : loves, [○]groves : proves, home : come (2
 回), Jove : above (2回), Jove : dove, Jove : [△]move, roam : tomb,
 roams : glooms, roams : tombs, rove : love (3回), rov'd : mov'd,
 spoke : look, throne : done, [○]strove : remove.

Jones — [○]grove : love, [○]grove : rove : dove, [○]one : undone.

Logan — [○]grove : dove : love, [○]grove : love (5回), [○]grove : rove :
 love, home : come (2回), Jove : prove, rove : Love, roved : loved,
 wove : love.

Chatterton — dome : room, [○]drove : love, [○]grove : love (4回),
[○]grove : move (2回), [○]groves : loves, Jove : love (3回), rover : lover.

ME/ɔ/ と ME/ɒ/ の脚韻は16世紀から見出され、17世紀になると可成の割合で見出されていた。筆者の調査によれば、初期近代英語の ME/ɔ/ と ME/ɒ/ の押韻率は一次資料では11.0%、二次資料では14.8%であった。後期近代英語の ME/ɔ/ と ME/ɒ/ の押韻率は両者の中間の12.5%となっている。次の ME/ɔ/ を持つ語には少なくとも初期近代英語には⁽⁵⁾ME/ɒ/ 異形が並存していた。

ai) 歯音及び [m, v, k] の前 (○印を付す)。

abode, boat, one, none, throne, foal, both, those, comb, drove, grove, strove, poke, smoke, stroke, woke.

aii) 語尾 (◎印を付す)。

go, toe.

aiii) [w] の後 (□印を付す)。

two, who, whom, whose, woe, womb, woo.

b) フランス語借用語 (△印を付す)。

move, Rome.

c) 特別な語 (*印を付す)。

do, to, loose, lose.

ai), aii), aiii), b), c) と ME/ɔ/ の脚韻は ME/ɔ/ の ME/ɔ/ 異形に基づくものである。

d) break, speak, strike⁽⁶⁾ の過去形には正常な ME/ɔ/ を持つ broke, spoke, stroke の他に ME/ɔ/ 異形 (6-broke, 6-brooke, 6-spoke, 5, 7, spook, 4-7 stroke, 6-7 strooke — OED) も並存していたため, broke, spoke, stroke と ME/ɔ/ の脚韻は ME/ɔ/ 異形に基づくものである。shake, take の過去形には正常な ME/ɔ/ を持つ shook, took の他に ME/ɔ/ 異形 (6-7 shooke, 4-7 shoke, 5-7 took, 3-6 toke — OED) も並存していたため, ME/ɔ/ と shook, took の脚韻は ME/ɔ/ 異形に基づくものである。

e) alone に ME/ɔ/ 異形が並存していたことを示す正音学者の証拠はないが, one には ME/ɔ/ 異形が存在していた証拠があるため, alone に ME/ɔ/ 異形が存在していた可能性は多分に考えられる。⁽⁷⁾ bone, gone, shone, stone と done の脚韻は ME/ɔ/ の方言型 [ʌ]⁽⁸⁾ に基づくものであろうが, 押韻している双方に ME/ɔ/ 異形が存在していたため ME/ɔ/ 同志の脚韻と考えることも可能である。

f) rove, Jove に ME/ɔ/ 異形が存在していたことを示す正音学者の証拠はないが, drove, grove, strove には ME/ɔ/ 異形が存在していた証拠があるため, rove, Jove にも ME/ɔ/ 異形が存在していた可能性は多分に考えられる。

g) home に ME/ɔ/ 異形が存在していたことを示す文法家の直接的な証拠はないが, home は今日多くの方言で [u:] となっているため, home と

ME/ɔ/ の脚韻は方言音 [u:] に基づくものであろう。

後期近代英語の ME/ʊ/ と ME/ɔ/ の脚韻は押韻している語の一方に相手方の音韻を持つ異形が並存するためこれらの異形に基づくものか、方言音 [u:] に基づくものである。

2.3. ME/ʊ/ : ME/ɔ/

表1に示された ME/ʊ/ と ME/ɔ/ の脚韻は以下のものである。

Pope — △abode : God (3回), △abodes : gods (9回), △abroad : rod, alone : fashion, alone : John, atone : Bayonne, ◎boast : frost, ◎boast : lost (13回), coast : frost, coast : lost, coast : lost, engross : cross, engross : Ross, ghost : lost, △gone : John (2回), △gone : ×on, △groat : sot, ◎host : ×frost, □most : lost (2回), △none : ×upon : Sun, oath : △wroth, △one : Gormogon, △one : John, △one : ×on, △one : Solomon, △one : Vernon, △rode : god, △rode : God (3回), △Road : God, △stone : ×on, ◎toast : lost, tone : ×on.

Broome — △abode : god, △abode : △rode : God, △abodes : gods (2回), △abroad : god (2回), ◎boast : lost, coast : lost (2回), ghost : lost, △rode : god (2回).

Byrom — embost : lost, △gone : anon, △gone : △none : ×upon, △gone : ×on (2回), △gone : ×thereon, △gone : ×upon, moan : ×thereupon, △none : ×thereupon, △none : ×upon (3回), △once : response, △one : con, △one : John (6回), △one : ×on (3回), △one : ×upon (4回).

Pitt — △abodes : gods (2回), △both : cloth, coasts : ×frosts, engross'd : lost, △load : God (2回), △road : God (5回), △road : trod, △shone : ×on, spoke : rock, throne : ×on (2回), ◎toast : lost.

Thomson — coast : □most : cost : lost, fone : moan : ×on, loth : sloth : moth : △wroth.

West — △abode : god, △abode : △road : God, △abodes : gods (9回), alone : known : ◎throne : Don, ◎boast : lost, coast : ×frost, coast : lost, explodes : Gods, ◎host : lost, ode : God (2回), △road : trod, remote : cot, Rhodes : gods, △shone : Helicon.

Dodsley — △coats : plots, △gone : ×on, △one : pardon.

Jenyns — △abodes : gods, ◎boast : lost, △load : God, □most : lost, △road : God.

Hamilton — △abodes : gods (6 回), △abroad : god, △begone : anon, ◎boast : cost (2 回), ◎boast : lost (3 回), globe : mob, hopes : crops, △load : god, □most : lost (2 回), post : lost, △road : god (2 回), vote : forgot.

Mallet — △none : ×on, oath : troth, △shone : ×on.

Brooke — △abode : God (2 回), △abroad : God (2 回), △abroad : nod, alone : crone : ×on, alone : mone : ×on, alone : ×on, bone : △stone : anon, coast : lost (2 回), △gone : anon, △gone : ×on, △one : ×on, △road : god.

Cotton — △abode : God, △road : God.

Harte — △abode : God, △abodes : gods (2 回), △abroad : God, ◎boast : lost (4 回), coast : ×frost, △load : God, □most : cost, oath : troth, △rode : God (6 回), △rode : trod (2 回), △stone : ×on.

Boyse — △abode : God, ×abode : nod, △abroad : trod, ◎boast : ×frost, ◎boast : lost (13 回), coast : lost (3 回), coast : lost : tost, coast : tost (3 回), ◎host : ×frost, △load : God, □most : lost (4 回), △road : God (4 回), △stone : ×on, ◎toast : lost (2 回), throne : ×on.

Lyttleton — ◎boast : lost (4 回), △gone : ×on, ◎host : lost, □most : lost, △one : Lyttleton, yoke : flock.

Armstrong — hope : fop.

Moore — △abode : trod, △both : sloth, broke : stock, △gone : ×on, post : lost.

Thompson — △abode : God, △abroad : △load : god, alone : △shone : ◎throne : paragon, bellibone : Helicon, △road : god : flood, △stone : Addison, ◎toast : lost.

Shenstone — □most : cost, △one : common.

Jago — grove : ×of.

Whitehead — △abodes : gods (3 回), ◎boast : lost (5 回), △both :

cloth : sloth, coast : lost (5 回), coast : tost, groan : [×]on, [△]load : god,
[□]most : lost (2 回), [△]road : God, [△]road : trod, Rome : from, rote : not,
 tone : [×]on.

Gray —— [△]abode : God, coast : lost.

Cambridge —— [△]abode : god, [◎]boast : lost (3 回), coast : tost (3 回),
[◎]host : lost, [△]road : god, scope : top, slope : top, strode : god.

Cawthorn —— [△]abode : god (6 回), [◎]boast : [×]frost, [△]one : John,
 opposed : closet, [△]road : God.

Collins —— [◎]boast : lost, [△]notes : allots.

Grainger —— [□]most : lost.

Akenside —— [△]abode : god, [△]abodes : gods, [◎]boast : [×]frost, [◎]boast : lost
 (2 回), coast : [×]frost, [◎]host : lost, post : lost, [△]road : trod.

Smollett —— [△]abode : rod, [◎]boast : lost, post : lost : lost, sloth : [△]froth.

Wilkie —— [△]abode : God, [△]abode : trod, [△]abodes : gods (5 回),
[△]abroad : clod, afloat : forgot, bespoke : shock, [◎]boast : lost (6 回),
[△]both : throth, broke : rock, close : Cross : dross : loss, coast : tost (2
 回), [◎]host : lost (2 回), [□]most : lost (4 回), oak : rock (3 回), oaks :
 rocks, post : lost, rote : forgot, rote : got, spoke : flock (2 回), spoke :
 rock (2 回), spoke : shock, unyokes : flocks, [△]wrote : forgot.

Fawkes —— [△]abode : god (2 回), coast : crost, coast : [×]frost (2 回),
[△]rode : God.

Blacklock —— [◎]boast : cost, [◎]boast : lost, [△]road : God.

Smart —— [△]abode : god, [◎]boast : [×]frost : lost, [◎]boast : lost (7 回),
 coast : crost, engross : cross, engross'd : lost, ghost : lost, globe : Job,
[△]none : [×]upon : Sun.

Warton —— [◎]boast : lost, ghost : lost, mode : god.

Cooper —— [△]abodes : gods (2 回), bemoan : [×]on, [◎]boast : lost, bone :
 skeleton, coast : cross'd, [△]gone : [×]on, [□]most : cost, [△]wrote : spot.

Lovibond —— [△]abode : God, coast : [×]frost, coast : lost, [□]most : lost,
[△]road : God.

Mason —— ghost : lost, [△]gone : Babylon, [△]load : God, ode : god.

Goldsmith — coast : lost (2 回).

Warton — △abode : trod, △abroad : god, ◎boast : lost, embost : ×Frost,
oak : rock, △one : John, △rode : God, ◎toast : crost.

Cunningham — △gone : John, ◎host : lost.

Falconer — ◎boast : lost, coast : lost (2 回), coast : tost, post : tost.

Churchill — △gone : ×on (3 回), ◎host : lost.

Cowper — △abode : God (3 回), ◎boast : lost, ◎boast : □most, △broad :
God, coast : cross'd, coast : lost (2 回), engross'd : lost, ghost : lost,
△gone : ×on, ◎host : lost, □most : cost, □most : lost (6 回), post : lost (2
回), △road : God (2 回), △stone : ×on, △stone : ×upon, ◎throne : ×upon,
tone : John, tone : ×on.

LLoyd — △abode : god (2 回), △abodes : gods, ◎boast : lost, △gone :
×on, △gone : ×upon, loth : broth, □most : cost, △road : trod, △rode : god,
strode : god.

Mickle — △abodes : gods, △abodes : nod, ◎boast : lost (2 回), bone :
skeleton (2 回), coast : lost, coast : toss'd (2 回), coat : pot, fore-
bodes : gods, oak : shock, △road : God (2 回), smoke : rock, throne :
×on.

Langhorne — △abodes : gods, ◎boast : lost (2 回), coast : lost (2 回),
loth : moth.

Beattie — △abode : god (2 回), △abode : nod, △abode : sod, ◎boast :
lost, coast : lost, engross'd : lost : toss'd, △note : grot, spoke : flock,
yoke : shock.

Jones — trode : god.

Logan — △abodes : gods, coast : tost, ghost : lost, post : lost.

Chatterton — △abode : trod, △gone : John, △gone : ×on (4 回).

筆者の調査によれば、ME/ʊ/ と ME/ɔ/ の脚韻は 16 世紀から見出され、
初期近代英語の ME/ʊ/ と ME/ɔ/ の押韻率は一次資料では 11.2%, 二次資
料では 10.6% であった。後期近代英語の ME/ʊ/ と ME/ɔ/ の押韻率は 8.2%
である。初期 ME/ɔ/ は開音節ではしばしば長母音化して ME/ʊ/ となった
が、今日この長母音化に由来する ME/ʊ/ を持つ語の内、次の語は少なくと

も初期近代英語にはこの長母音化を免れた⁽¹⁰⁾ME/ɔ/ 異形が並存していた。

ai) 自国語: open (ing), openly, over (○印を付す)。

aii) フランス語借用語: boast, cloak, host, enthroned, noble (man), reproach, sober, toast (◎印を付す)。

今日 ME/ɔ/ > PE [ou] を持つ語の内、次の語は少なくとも初期近代英語には ME/ɔ/ が短母音化した ME/ɒ/ 異形が並存していた。

bi) comb, glorious, holy, homely, most, only, wholly (□印を付す)。

bii) [θ] の前: both, froth, loath, wroth.

[f] の前: loaf.

[d] の前: abroad, abode, load, road, rode, woad.

[t] の前: boat, coat, groat, note, wrote.

[n] の前: gone, none, nonce, one, shone, stone.

[m] の前: home, whom.

[z] の前: those, whose (△印を付す)。

c) alone, groan, moan, moment, oak, oath (Kökeritz, 1953, p. 233).

ai), aii), bi), bii) と ME/ɔ/ の脚韻は、実際には、ME/ɔ/ 同志の脚韻であるかも知れない。

今日 ME/ɔ/ > PE/ɔ/ を持つ語の内、次の語は少なくとも初期近代英語には長母音化に由来する⁽¹¹⁾ME/ɔ/異形が並存していた。

d) broth, frost, lot, on, of, upon (×印を付す)。

d) と ME/ɔ/ の脚韻は、実際には、ME/ɔ/ 同志の脚韻であるかも知れない。

正音学者の証拠から ME/ɔ/ を持つ語で初期近代英語に短母音化による ME/ɒ/ 異形を持ち得た語は bi) bii) で示された諸語においてである。しかし、筆者の調査によると、ME/ɔ/ と ME/ɒ/ の脚韻はそれ以外の語にも又別の環境 ([b] の前— robe : Job, [k] の前— broke : rock, [p] の前— hope : crop, [s] の前— gross : loss) にある場合にも多く見出され、ME/ɔ/ を持つ語に ME/ɒ/ 異形が並存していた事が分かる。sloth, troth, wroth には今日でも ME/ɒ/ に由来する [ɒ:] と ME/ɔ/ に由来する [ou] の両者が存在している。初期近代英語の無声摩擦音 [f, s, θ] の前の ME/ɔ/ は長母音化を起し [ɔ:] になっていた事は先ず疑いない。ME/ɔ/ と ME/ɔu/ の脚韻が多く見出され

ME/ʊ/ が [o:] になっていた後期近代英語では, boast の [o:] と lost の [ɔ:] とでは押韻しないはずであるが, この種の ME/ʊ/ と [f, s, θ] の前の ME/ɔ/ の脚韻は南西部出身の詩人に見出されている。これは南西部方言では ME/ʊ/ が [o:] でなく [ɔ:] として残ったからである。この種の脚韻は南西部出身以外の詩人にも多く見出されており, ME/ʊ/=[o:] と [f, s, θ] の前の ME/ɔ/=[ɔ:] とでは押韻せず, ME/ʊ/ の ME/ɔ/ 異形に基づいた場合に初めて完全韻となる。(Wright, 1905, § 122)。ME/ʊ/ と [f, s, θ] の前の ME/ɔ/ との脚韻は南西部方言では [ɔ:] に基づく完全韻であり, その他の方言では ME/ʊ/ の ME/ɔ/ 異形に基づく完全韻である。

2.4. ME/ʊ/ : ME/u/

表 1 に示された ME/ʊ/ と ME/u/ の脚韻は以下のものである。

Pope — alone : sun, none : upon : Sun, once : dunce (2 回), once : prison, once : Dunce (2 回), once : run (3 回), once : sun (2 回), stone : run, throne : son, tone : begun.

Byrom — once : dunce (2 回).

Pitt — alone : Sun (2 回), boast : dust, coast : dust, ghost : dust, moan : son, one : run (2 回), shone : run, shone : Sun, throne : Sun.

West — groans : sons, stone : son : won, stone : won.

Hamilton — dome : plum.

Mallet — non : son.

Brooke — shone : son, shone : Sun (3 回).

Harte — one : Son, one : sun (2 回), once : dunce, shone : son, shone : sun.

Boyse — atone : son (2 回), gone : run (3 回), none : won, throne : won.

Whitehead — throne : son.

Jago — over : cover.

Whitehead — groan : son, home : troublesome, once : dunce (4 回), shone : son, stone : son, throne : son (2 回), throne : won, zone : won.

Cambridge — bone : strowne : won.

- Cawthorn —— once : dunce, one : sun, shone : Sun.
 Collins —— one : Son.
 Akenside —— alone : son, throne : son, thrones : sons, thrown : won (2 回).
 Smollett —— groan : Williamson, once : dunce.
 Wilkie —— throne : son.
 Fawkes —— hope : cup, one : son, over : discover.
 Smart —— none : Sun : upon.
 Warton —— shone : son.
 Cooper —— tone : unison.
 Lovibond —— none : sun, thrones : sons.
 Mason —— groans : sons, none : Jenkinson, none : won.
 Goldsmith —— over : discover.
 Warton —— one : begun.
 Cunningham —— none : Sun.
 Falconer —— gone : run (4 回), shone : Sun, shone : won (3 回).
 Churchill —— none : son, once : dunce (3 回), one : run, one : son (3 回), one : spun, one : Sun, shone : Sun.
 Cowper —— home : plum, home : sun, none : run, none : son (2 回), none : Sun, none : won, once : dunce, one : run, one : son, one : Sun, shone : Sun, tone : unison.
 LLoyd —— once : dunce (11 回), one : run.
 Mickle —— one : shun : foredone, throne : won.
 Beattie —— one : reason, throne : son (2 回).
 Jones —— one : Sun, shone : sun.
 Chatterton —— once : dunce (2 回), one : shun, one : son (2 回), one : sun.

後期近代英語の ME/ʊ/ と ME/u/ の脚韻（押韻率 2.1%）は、初期近代英語（一次資料の押韻率 1.3%, 二次資料の押韻率 2.1%）の場合と同じ様に、極めて少ない。⁽¹³⁾ ME/u/ が [u] > [ʌ] へと中舌化された 17 世紀後半になって、one (once, none) を含む ME/ʊ/ と ME/u/ の脚韻が増えてくる。ME/ʊ/ と

ME/u/ の脚韻は、今日⁽¹⁴⁾ bone, gone, home, stone 等の語が多くの方言で [ʌ] と発音されているため、方言音 [ʌ] に基づくものであろう。

2.5. ME/ʊ/ : ME/ū/

表 1 に示された ME/ʊ/ と ME/ū/ の脚韻は以下のものである。

Pope — goes : brows, one : crown, stone : frown, throne : down.

Broome — go : you, groan : down, roes : brows (2 回), woe : brow (2 回), woes : boughs, woes : bows.

Pitt — one : town, woe : bow.

Dyer — stone : down.

West — moan : down : grown, odes : clouds : shrouds, repose : rose : brows : flows, shone : adown : thrown : Helicon, shone : crown, shone : renown, throne : down (2 回), thron'd : crown'd, woe : brow, woe : brow : bestow : throw.

Jenyns — throne : down.

Hamilton — rose : boughs, woes : vows.

Harte — forego : woe : brow, none : town.

Boyse — alone : town : unknown, road : crowd, throne : down (3 回).

Lyttleton — alone : frown, alone : town.

Whitehead — foe : brow, throne : crown.

Thompson — bemoan'd : gown'd, own : crown, stones : frowns, woes : vows.

Shenstone — alone : town.

Whitehead — foe : brow (2 回), home : renown, so : allow, so : now, stone : frown, throne : crown, woe : bough.

Gray — go : brow : slow, woe : brow (2 回).

Cambridge — alone : town, atone : town, stone : town, thron'd : crown'd.

Cawthorn — zones : crowns.

Akenside — foe : prow.

Cooper — throne : down.

Mason — begone : down, foe : brow, foe : prow, one : town, throne : crown.

Goldsmith — alone : down, discloses : spouses.

Falconer — go : prow.

Cowper — none : town.

Mickle — foregoes : brows, go : vow, repose : rose : boughs, rose : boughs, rose : brows, woe : bough : low.

Beattie — alone : frown, alone : frown : unknown, arose : boughs, drone : renown, enclose : brow, groan : Frown, repose : boughs (2 回), throne : crown, woe : brow (2 回), woes : allows.

後期近代英語の ME/ɔ/ と ME/ū/ の脚韻 (押韻率 1.3%) は, 初期近代英語 (一次資料の押韻率 0.7%, 二次資料の押韻率 1.8%) の場合と同じ様に, 極めて少なく, 両者の融合の確証となる程度には見出されていない。ME/ū/ の発達過程に関して次の三つの見解 (i) [uw]>[ow]>[ɔw]>[aw], ii) [uw]>[iɪw]>[əw]>[aw], iii) [uw]>[ow]>[əw]>[aw]) が提唱されているが筆者は iii) の見解を支持している。従って, この ME/ɔ/ と ME/ū/ の脚韻は ME/ɔ/ の [o:] と ME/ū/ の [ow] の類韻となる。

2.6. ME/ɔ/ : ME/au/

表 1 に示された ME/ɔ/ と ME/au/ の脚韻は以下のものである。

Pope — abroad : waw'd, abroad : unthaw'd.

Byrom — abroad : laud.

Pitt — groat : caught.

Dodsley — groat : fraught.

Jenyns — groat : fault, groat : fraught, wrote : taught.

Brooke — abroad : unaw'd.

Whitehead — abroad : aw'd.

Cawthorn — beau : saw.

Collins — abroad : o'eraw'd.

Mason — close : pause, closing : pausing.

Churchill — abroad : fraud (5 回), groat : untaught.

Cowper — abroad : claw'd, abroad : o'eraw'd.

Mickle — boasted : exhausted.

Jones — broad : aw'd.

後期近代英語の ME/ɔ/ と ME/au/ の脚韻 (押韻率 0.3%) は, 初期近代英語 (一次資料の押韻率 0.2%, 二次資料の押韻率 0.4%) の場合と同じように, 極めて少なく, 両者の隔合の確証となる程度には見出されていない。筆者は ME/au/ の単母音化は先ず第一段階で第二要素が第一要素に後退・円唇作用を及ぼし ([a]>[ɔ]), 第二段階で第二要素が第一要素に同化したため [ɔ:] で生じたと考えている。従って, ME/ɔ/=[ɔ:] と ME/au/=[ɔ:] では押韻しないが, ME/ɔ/ が [ɔ:] でなく [ɔ:] として残った南西部方言では押韻可能となる。EDGr (index) によると, 今日, close は Hertfordshire, Wiltshire で, wrote は Devonshire, Dorsetshire, Wiltshire で [ɔ:] と発音されている。24 個の ME/ɔ/ と ME/au/ の脚韻の内, 20 個が PE でも [ɔ:] を持つ abroad, broad, (groat) との脚韻である。

2.7. その他

ME/ɔ/ : ME/ɛu, eu/ — Rome : consume, Rome : presume (Byrom), Rome : consume (3 回) (Harte), home : presume (Whitehead), impose : refuse (Wilkie), woe : strew (Warton), Rome : assume (Churchill), Rome : assume (LLoyd), misetoe : strew, Rome : plume (Mickle).

ME/ɔ/ : ME/a/ — one : can (Armstrong).

ME/ɔ/ : ME/ai/ — one : Britain (Cambridge).

注

- (1) H. Heguri. forthcoming. 「初期近代英語の ME/ɔ/ の音価について」『中京大学教養論叢第 31 巻第 1 号』
- (2) 脚韻を収集するにあたり, *The Works of the English Poets from Chaucer to Cowper* (Alexander (ed.), Greenwood, 1969) を使用した。
- (3) T. Nakao. 『音韻史』 § 2124112.2.
- (4) abroa, broad, (groat) の PE 音 [ɔ:] に関しては次の二説が行われている。1)

- ME/ɔ/ は ModE で __c の文脈で短母音化され, r __ [d, t] の文脈で長母音化された (Dobson, 1968², § 53 N. 3b, 216, Jespersen, 1909, § 10.81)。2) ME/ɔ/ を保持した南西部方言から 17 世紀前半に StE に入ってきた (Luick, 1914-40, § 533.2, 535; Wright-Wright, 1924, § 76 N. 2; Wyld, 1927³, § 240 N. 1)。
- (5) Dobson, *op. cit.* § 150, § 150 N. 1, § 151, § 151 N. 2, § 152, § 153, § 153 N., § 154, § 155. Kökeritz, 1953, p. 231. lose は OE losian > ME lose で ME/ɔ/ を持つ語であり, 期待される PE 音は [ou] であるが, ME/ɔ/ > ME/ō/ 異形 (俗語, 方言形) 及び loose (Aj) との混同により PE で [u:] を持つに至っている。Rome は OE Rōm であるため, 期待される PE 音は [u:] である (この [u:] は 16 ~ 17 世紀では普通であり Bullokar, Robinson, Willis, Cooper 等々に示されている) が, PE 音 [ou] は ME/ɔ/ 異形に基づく。OF の長音 o を含むフランス語借用語は通常 ME/ɔ/ として借用されたが, 唇音の環境でしばしば ME/ō/ となった。move の PE 音 [u:] はこの ME/ō/ 異形が発達したのであるが, Ealy Mod E には ME/ɔ/ 異形が並存していた。
- (6) Kökeritz, *op. cit.* p. 232. strike の過去形は OE strāc > ME stōk > (前母音化) Early Mod E strook > u への短母音化を経て今日の struck となっている。
- (7) Wright, EDGr., § 122f., 214.
- (8) Kökeritz, *op. cit.* p. 233, p. 238. gone, shone の PE 音 [ɔ] は ME/ɔ/ の短母音化による。done には ME/ɔ/ を持つ二重語が存在している。
- (9) Wright, *op. cit.*, § 123. home は今日 Devonshire, Essex, Norfolk, Northamptonshire, Worcestershire で [u:] となっている。
- (10) Dobson, *op. cit.*, § 13, § 13 N. 3. Kökeritz, *op. cit.* p. 234.
- (11) Dobson, *op. cit.*, § 33.
- (12) Wright, *op. cit.*, §§ 121-4.
- (13) Dobson, *op. cit.*, § 93.
- (14) Wright, *op. cit.*, Index. によると, home は Home Countries を含め今日の多くの方言で [ʌ] となっている (Dobson, *op. cit.* § 36, N1)。今日, gone, stone は Warwickshire, Worcestershire, Shropshire, Oxfordshire で, gone は Shropshire で [ʌ] と発音されている。

3. 結論

後期近代英語の ME/ɔ/ の音価を推定する上で何等かの手掛を与えてくれる脚韻の実状は

- a) ME/ʊ/ と ME/ou/ の脚韻は、近期近代英語の場合と同じ様に、1700 年以降多く見出されている。
- b) ME/ʊ/ と ME/ō/ の脚韻はかなり見出されているがその多くは ME/ʊ/ の ME/ō/ 異形か方言音 [u:] に基づくものである。
- c) ME/ʊ/ と ME/o/ の脚韻はかなり見出されているがその多くは ME/ʊ/ の ME/o/ 異形か ME/o/ の ME/ʊ/ 異形に基づくものである。
- d) ME/ʊ/ と ME/u/, ME/ū/, ME/au/ の脚韻は極めて少ない。

である。これらの証拠を総合的に踏まえての ME/ʊ/ 音価及びその発達は次のようなものであると考える。

- i) 後期近代英語の ME/ʊ/ の音価は [o:] であった。
- ii) 16 世紀後半に ME/ʊ/ と ME/ou/ が共に [o:] になった時、ME/ō/ は [u:] となった。しかし、ある地域方言では ME/ʊ/ は ME/ō/ と [u:] で融合した。
- iii) ME/ʊ/ は ME/ū/, ME/au/ とは融合しなかった。

今まで手付かずの状態にあり、研究すべくして、研究されなかった脚韻の資料を収集し分析するのにかなりの時間がかかったため、十分な思索をめぐらさざるだけの時間的余裕がなかったこともあって数字の魔力や強引な所があるかも知れない。それらの点に関して読者の厳しい御叱正を賜りたい。

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